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* [192] He is, however, hospitable. When some tribal irmão /brother/, or even an Indian from another tribe, arrives at the maloca, he at once presents to him beljú and quinhapira /a fish dish/, and, if there is any, also manicuera, bacaba, or some other drink. The "white" can likewise help himself liberally to everything.

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14) Envy.

Envy is one of the vices that mar their character; they do not even take care to disguise it. Anyone who begins to distinguish himself because of his talents, becomes an object of the envy of the others, and he soon is afflicted by fear of some malefice from the others. A Tukano man, having acquired some planks with his work in the Mission of Pari-Cachoeira, started to make a hut with more luxury and comfort. The others at once threatened to poison him, and he found himself forced to abandon everything and run away. The same worm of envy is already great in the children. The ones who learn Portuguese more easily, win good marks, and are praised inexplicably become slack and decline. It was out of fear of the envy of the others. At the time of the /153/ school awards, it can not be specified that this is the first prize and is for So-and-So; or to reward only a few. It is imperative to give awards to all, being satisfied with calling first those with greater merit and letting them choose. The Directress gave a pair of shoes to one of the young women who worked in the Mission. She hardly used them once. "Why don't you wear the shoes any more?" -- "The others insult me" was the answer.

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15) Theft.

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Suffering so strongly the sting of envy, it is not surprising that he presents another weak point: the tendency to steal. Resistance perhaps against the "white," whom he always considers superior and rich, he readily seizes (even outside of the

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Cases in which they buried their old parents alive are cited (28).

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28. There was shown to us in Uaracapé (river Papuri), upon leaving the povoado, the place where the hammock of a sick old man had been tied between two branches. And they had not only turned him out of the house in this condition, but also left him there in the open, without assistance or resources. As soon as he had died, they dug a grave under the hammock, cut the ropes of the old hammock, which fell, with the cadaver, into the hole, and covered /the footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ it irregularly with earth, as we could see in November of 1953. In June of 1954 an old Taryana about 70 or 80 years of age, shivering with cold, was found in the port of Iauareté. We do not know how he got there. Taken to the hospital in serious condition, he was laid on a hammock, given medicine, and had a hot water bottle applied (to replace the fire that they always use under the hammock). Days later, feeling well, he was questioned about where he came from. He interrupted immediately, saying that he did not want to go back to his house, because he was mistreated there by the children.

We were informed about a Taryana from Pinú-pinú (river Uaupés) who mistreated and several times even spanked his own father, who was from Iauareté.

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At least while they are living in their own environment, they cling together among themselves, even among individuals of a different tribe, more than /158/ with a civilized person. There is not, however, any sign of particular friendship among

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them: one notices the same treatment for all. It is still the group spirit that atrophies the individual impulses. The reciprocal envy and the fear of poisoning that torment them do not allow the feelings of friendship to flourish among them. They are always afraid of one another. Some of them would like to open up more with the civilized, and in some cases they do when they are alone. He will become reserved, however, as soon as another Indian appears. One has the impression that they are afraid of appearing as a friend of the white.

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Nor is there any evidence of the existence of gratitude in his heart, especially toward the civilized. Although he appears friendly, speaking to them with expansiveness and intimacy, he never gives thanks for the favors received; he does not even show acknowledgement of them, even in cases of extraordinary benefits, and even of the true and heroic devotion of the Missionary or of the Irmã Enfermeira /Sister in charge of the sick/. He does not approach him to offer any gift as a sign of gratitude, or even say a tender word of thanks. It is not reported either that among his fellow tribesmen he is concerned about showing gratitude for the benefits received from the white. One can affirm that the cordiality that they show toward the civilized is always inspired by self-interest, and the supposition of lack of attention on the part of the white is enough to make the manifestations of that cordiality disappear.

18) Revenge-vengeance.

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On the other hand, his instinct for revenge is strong. With perfect control of himself, without the slightest outward sign or facial expression revealing his displeasure, the Indian accepts the greatest contrariedades. He does not, however, forget the insults and the injustices, real or supposed, nor does he forgive them (29).

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29. It seems that the verb to forgive does not exist in the Tucano language. Out of the necessity for catechizing, the Missionary sometimes uses the verb oxkô-boho, to forget. The

the Tucano Indians of the Vaupés, succession was from father to son, while on the Aiari it went from brother to brother (1909, I, 68). The Cubeo combine both methods. The tendency of the headmanship to stay within a lineage conforms to the natural tendencies of sons to model their behavior on their father, and for a group of brothers, who form among the Cubeo a particularly intimate sibling group, to share common interests. Thus, the men of a chiefly lineage behave with a greater sense of responsibility for the welfare of the sib; they follow the pattern of giving and act generally to maintain high morale. If the prospective heirs fail to live up to expectations they cannot succeed to the office. The office is not their automatic due, although coming from a chiefly lineage, their chances for the office are very much enhanced. Competition for the office is regarded as unseemly. Since the Cubeo are most sensitive in their distrust of the authoritarian personality, an overeager contender for the headmanship would most likely jeopardize his chances.

In the case of the headman who is known only as "owner of the house," the model of leadership is, as the title denotes, paternal. His warrant of office is that it is he who has built the maloca. A changeover in the headmanship comes with the building of a new maloca, when a headman has died or when the old maloca needs to be replaced either because of its deteriorated condition or because new manioc gardens need to be planted at a new site. On those occasions, the man who feels confident of his support undertakes to put up the main beams of the new house, with the help of his own brothers and of his sons. For the reasons already cited this man is most likely to be of a line of headmen. When the main posts are in place, the other household heads of the sib are invited to join in the work of completing the house. Those who join will be residents who accept the leadership and authority of the new headman. No man is compelled to join. He may declare himself an Independent, saying he will build his own house. The building of a maloca constitutes an election — one that occurs every five years or so, the period of duration of a house and of a manioc clearing. A headman who has grown unpopular will then find himself replaced, often by a brother or a son. It is as "owner of the house" that the headman is giver, guide, and keeper of order. He is in charge of the hospitality of the house, the receiver of guests, and the main organizer of drinking parties. He is responsible for ceremonies and for all ceremonial equipment, including tobacco, coca, and *mihí*. He is chairman of discussions and arbiter of disputes. He has no authority to order punishment, although his opinion as to punishment carries weight.

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No Cubeo headman has rights over person, over life, or over property.

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Within the sib, the headman is the firm but gentle father, ever watchful of the welfare of his sibmates. There is, however, another side to the office. As representative of the sib within the phratry he is the organizer of drinking parties in which the prestige of the sib and his own prestige are involved. An ambitious headman urges his people to produce more chicha, to entertain often. His pressure may become burdensome on the people and his influence within the sib is, accordingly, jeopardized. The *habókü* with more commanding presence can push people farther, it is said, than the ordinary *kendmi upákü*. While drinking parties are enjoyed and sibs are conscious of their own heightened prestige as givers of chicha, they suspect that their headman is pushing himself forward too strongly and they resent it. To forestall such resentment a headman urges household heads to join as cosponsors of a drinking party.

The headman is charged with preserving the unity of the sib. While concern with personal prestige is not lacking, this consideration of his must be secondary to the welfare of the sib. He must prevent splitting of the sib. If a household leaves, the headman is blamed. He is blamed if sibmen's quarrels reach a dangerous point. When drinking parties erupt in violence the women taunt the headman with his inability to restore order. Yet in asserting leadership the headman dare not be too forceful. Father Giaccone has observed about the Tucano Indians that they are docile. The same can be said of the Cubeo. A man will not, in fact he claims he cannot, resist a direct command. He will obey and be resentful. No householder who had unwillingly submitted to a headman's command would long remain in the sib. Moreover, the Cubeo do not easily tolerate social tension. If the atmosphere in the house becomes unpleasant someone will certainly move out. Men will not work, hunt, fish, or join in any collective undertaking if the atmosphere is not cordial. Maintaining this atmosphere is perhaps the most difficult charge upon the headman.

The headman who must deal with white tradesmen and with labor recruiters has the additional burden of representing his community against men of very forceful personality. He finds that he dare not submit to the common weakness of docility and must match their forcefulness with his own. A headman who has learned to deal with the white man on equal terms will tend to be more authoritative within his sib as well.

There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no

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825 home bleeding from his wounds and died. The people said that the jaguar had eaten the body and had returned only the *umé* for proper burial.

756 The shaman, whether *yavi* or *pariekokü*, chooses his calling. It does not choose him. There is nothing to suggest that the Cubeo shaman is an unstable personality in the way in which Siberian and many North American Indian shamans are. That is to say, among the Cubeo there is neither trance nor other form of "hysterical" behavior.

756 The *yavi*, who cultivates the reputation of himself as a jaguar, is seemingly an aggressive antisocial type, in marked contrast to the favored Cubeo personality. I heard of only one woman who had become a shaman, and she was a transvestite who made such a nuisance of herself bothering women that the shamans who had prepared her stripped her of her powers. Any youth may become a shaman if he is accepted by the school of shamans, submits to the rigors of the novitiate, and passes an examination. As a young man he will not be a *yavi*. He becomes more malevolent and more dangerous with age. As an elder he finally acquires the power to appear as a jaguar.

The novitiate lasts from one month to five. None of my laymen informants could describe it in detail. The novitiate consists of four sections: abstinences, insertions of magical substances into the body, learning of songs and ritual, and examinations. The abstinences include sexual relations and the eating of fish, broiled game flesh, and, inexplicably, pineapple. One informant said that the novice, who is expected to become thin, lives on nothing but manioc and water.

756 The insertions described below are the actual sources of the shaman's power: (1) *duvato*, spines, the center stems of the leaf of the *ainhókükü* tree, are softened and laid on the underside of the forearms until drawn in; (2) *hoküwe*, another spine, is inserted in the chest and in the palms of the hands; (3) *henddox*, crystals of quartz, are inserted into the stomach; (4) *kuitóbo*, eagle feathers, are inserted up the nostrils to lodge in the head; (5) *dúpa*, the resin of the *amhókükü* tree, is powdered and inhaled to lodge in the heart; (6) *kúria*, another snuff made from the bark of the *kuridkü* tree, is inhaled and produces a narcotic effect. My notes are not clear on whether *kúria* remains permanently in the body or is taken only for the narcotic effect. The *duvato*, the *hoküwe*, and the *henddox* later serve the shaman as his own weapons to use against other shamans and to shoot into the body of a victim.

756 After the insertions have been made, the novice is taught songs

[114] * Koch-Grünberg's information was that *dúpa* was a white stone, excrement of a great mythical eagle. However, I was given a piece of *dúpa* and it is a resin.